

692 the course of action for the People's procuratorates for 1955.¹⁸ He emphasized the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and the establishment of procuratorates in all transportation centers and in the armed forces. From September 1954 to July 1955 the number of People's procuratorates increased from 199 to 1,963.

II. PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS AND POLICE

- 625 Perhaps the most powerful instrument of violence, with the exception of the armed forces, is the public security organ which exists in all government and functional organizations throughout China. It maintains close control over the entire populace and assumes the responsibility for arrests and punishment. Furthermore, it has at its disposal the public security forces, which are said to be efficiently staffed. There is no doubt that the public security agencies, by collaborating with other secret agencies of the Communist Party and the armed forces, have become the best physical and psychological instruments for the maintenance of public order.

18. People's Daily, July 24, 1955, p. 2.

A. Organization

625 For reasons of secrecy and the potentially sinister role played by public security agencies in the structure of the regime, information on their organization and activities is withheld by the Communists. However, it is known that, in addition to the Ministry of Public Security in the Central Government, each level of government has a department or bureau in charge of matters of public security. This public security system extends from the provincial government down to the hsiang.

In the past, the Department of Public Security of the regional government was directly responsible for the maintenance of public order and safety in the Southwest China Region. According to a Nationalist study from Formosa in 1953, the Department of Public Security in a provincial government was said to have the following five sections as well as an administrative office:¹⁹ political security, security administration, police, general service, and "Reform-through-labor."

19. Kung-fei Chün-shih Kung-an T'e-wu Tsu-chih Hsi-t'ung T'u-piao Hui-pien [Compendium of Organizational Charts of Communist Military, Public Security, and Intelligence Organs], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1953.

625 Other units such as a cadre school, border
public security bureaus, and forced labor
battalions were also under the department's
jurisdiction. Public security bureaus were
organized within administrative districts and
municipalities. County bureaus were empowered
to establish security stations for the strengthen-
ing of public security work in ch'u and hsiang,
and they were placed in charge of detention
houses and prisons.

B. Public Security in the Rural Areas

625 During the land reform period, rural
701 security relied on peasant associations and the
militia to enforce decrees and destroy the
old rural system, to crush the intelligence
agencies controlled by the Kuomintang, to
suppress banditry, and to eliminate landlords
and "despots."

625 At the time of the Suppression-of-Counter-
701 revolutionaries Movement in the cities, cli-
669 maxed by the use of violence in 1951, a
similar campaign was carried out in rural
areas. Official reports during this time
indicated the unrest and the resistance of the
peasants, expressed in the forms of organized
"underground armies," the killing of militia,

625 the burning of granaries, and the slaughtering
701 of cattle. Communist authorities in the
669 Southwest China region called for the strengthen-
ing of rural public security.²⁰ Village
committees, composed of from 3 to 11
members, were organized, and public security
teams were formed.²¹

The extent of rural unrest was indicated by Wen-hui Liu, deputy from the province of Szechwan, at the second session of the National People's Congress.²² He reported destruction of agricultural implements, sabotage of a dam, murder of Communist cadres and activists, arson, and impairment of relationships between the Han and the minority groups.

In August 1953, bands of armed police were transferred from the military command to the public security agencies in an attempt to strengthen rural public security.

C. Public Security in the Cities

625 The maintenance of public order and

20. New China Daily, June 29, 1952, p. 1, and Oct. 9, 1952, p. 3.

21. People's Daily, Aug. 11, 1952, p. 1.

22. Ibid., July 29, 1955, p. 5.

- 625 safety in the cities is more complex than in the rural areas. The Communists approach this problem from at least four different angles: (a) an extensive public security organization; (b) rigid census control over resident movements; (c) the establishment of resident organizations to watch over the entire populace, including committees in all organizations; and (d) the strict regulation of all commercial and recreational activities.

The Public Security Bureau in a municipal government maintains eight sections and several other units. The eight sections include a secretariat, political security (including intelligence, investigation, confidential communication), security administration, police, sanitation, fire prevention, supply, and personnel. Other units under the bureau include prisons, detention houses, and "Reform-through-labor" camps as well as security-training schools and security forces. Under the bureau, ch'u sub-bureaus and security sub-stations have been established. The organization of the sub-bureau is as elaborate as that of the bureau itself. The sub-bureau takes charge of detention houses and directs the work of security stations and security committees under them.

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659 In 1951, the Communists began to tighten census control throughout the Southwest. The directive on census control, issued by the

625 Government Administration Council in July
659 1951, restricted the movement of city
dwellers.²³ Any resident who wished to move
had first to obtain a permit from the security
station. Likewise, any person who moved
into the district had to report his arrival to
the station. Even house guests staying three
days or more were required to register. The
nationwide census taken in 1953 placed urban
residents under stricter vigilance. "Planned
purchase and marketing," a form of rationing
introduced at the end of 1953, strengthened
security control. The recent institution of
a regular system of registration increases
the burden of established regulations.²⁴

625 The Security Committee was first
organized in the cities during the Suppression-
of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951.
Dwellers in a street or an alley formed a
unit for the establishment of a committee.
Under the security sub-station, which might
have jurisdiction over several streets,
security committees were linked to form

23. Yangtze Daily, July 18, 1951, p. 4.

24. Directive of the State Council in
People's Daily, July 3, 1955, p. 1; see
Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily],
April 2, 1955, p. 1.

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- 625 a general committee with the sub-station chief as its chairman. The sub-station consists of a chief, deputy chiefs, and several policemen, assigned to maintain public order and enforce decrees pertaining to it. These functions include the enforcement of laws on public security, the suppression of sabotage, the prevention of bandit activities, the surveillance of counterrevolutionaries, census-taking, and the supervision of the security committees.

Security in factory, business enterprises, and other industrial organizations is the concern of committees established in each of these organizations. These committees are expected to supervise every phase of industrial production and labor discipline.

- 625 The establishment of regulations governing
656 the conduct of business in the Southwest enables the Party to maintain control over all activities. For example, the regulation controlling the supply and sale of radio and electrical appliances²⁵ requires each electrical shop to secure a permit from the security agency before requesting a license from the local Department of Industry. A monthly report of sales and a monthly inventory also are required. Failure to report suspicious

25. People's Daily, July 26, 1955, p. 3.

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- 625 patrons to the security agency is a punishable
656 offense. Equally rigid regulations govern the ownership and use of firearms.²⁶ Regulations governing the operation of hotels, warehouses, and recreational facilities also are extremely stringent.²⁷ Owners first must have permits from public security agencies. The procedure regulating the issuance of permits requires the submission of the personal history of the owner, complete information concerning others involved in the business, and a diagram of the geographic location of the shop or office. Hotels must make daily reports upon their guests, and recreational centers are subject to inspection at any time.

B. Police

- 625 The police should be distinguished from the security forces, which are a component of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Effective August 1955, as a result of a State Council order, security forces at the level of the administrative district were organized into an armed police force.²⁸

26. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, June 29, 1951, p. 5.

27. Ibid., May 1951, p. 2.

28. The only Communist report on security forces appeared in People's Daily, Aug. 11, 1953, p. 1; Text of the State Council order, ibid., July 31, 1955.

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COMMENTS

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The prevalence of banditry and disorder in the region, together with the activities of remnants of Nationalist military units, made it exceedingly difficult for the Communist Party to re-establish "peace and order" in the Southwest. The difficulty of maintaining control over ethnic minorities, the multitude of secret societies, and the hostility of the peasants to many Communist economic schemes constituted further obstacles. The Party was so preoccupied with these problems that it made little headway in the organization of the usual civil security agencies, such as the People's courts and the People's procuratorates. Instead, the regime was forced to rely upon military force and terror in order to maintain "public order."

C. Modern Precautions

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The author wishes to make it clear that most of the measures¹ stated above do not happen one after another but rather more or less at about the same time. While all these traditional doings are going on a number of precautions of a distinctly "modern" flavor also come into play. We shall mention first the work of the police. As we have seen, the police put up a set of notices prohibiting dirt and animal soil from being left in the streets from the beginning of the epidemic. They also prohibit the sale of food like pea-curd served cold in the streets. These measures may be based upon a modern idea of prevention of the epidemic, but their behavior in other ways makes the observer feel uncertain about their ideological position. For the police do prohibit not only the above, they also prohibit the sale of raw fruit in the streets, and forcibly moved the meat market from its usual site in Area H or the center of the town, to a place just outside of the town's east gate. There is no other explanation for this measure than that at Area H a prayer meeting took place, and all dealings having to do with killing of life have to be kept away. Not only this, during the entire prayer meeting at Area H, the police force sent two special sentries to keep spectators from coming too close to the altar. And in the "an God's nocturnal inspection" of the town and villages a troupe of regular policemen in full equipment formed a part of the procession. Of course, for these duties the policemen were paid extra, and there is a Chinese proverb which says that money can move gods. Still, the position of the police force in this regard is not easy to define. The government of the sub-district (Chen Kung So) takes some steps also. One of their steps is a notice in some villages prohibiting the sale of "raw and cold food stuffs" or of "meat and fish". The other is a joint effort with the local middle school. The two bodies sent out inspectors to all families in the town and many surrounding villages to inspect the cleanliness of the houses and courtyards. Then the inspectors wrote with chalk on the gates of the families "clean", "very clean", "not clean", as the impression might be. They did not, however, take any further steps about the houses that were marked "not clean". The Chen Chung (head of the sub-district) stationed in "sat Town", enjoyed the admiring remarks passed on his calligraphy by the many spectators.

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The second kind of modernized precaution comes from private individuals. We have seen that in one native medical prescription the advertiser advises those who are not yet attacked to take cholera injection. Now that advice came to be combined with a traditional prescription is yet to be conjectured, but the modern nature of the advice is undeniable. Similar advice is not lacking. One kind of poster says that the cholera epidemic is caused by the careless handling of patients' stools and vomited stuff so that other people are infected; and advises people to take care of all vomited stuff and all excretion, including urine, of the patients by burial underground or by burning. The last words in these posters are "Don't drink unboiled water." By the fact that the authors of these posters regard the urine of patients as infectious we may be certain that they are not thoroughly acquainted with modern ideas about cholera yet, but we have to assume that they undoubtedly know something about them. The interesting thing, however, is that at least one author of these posters is later found to be an officer in one of the cholera prayer meetings and had contributed a small sum toward its cost.

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The third type of modern precaution comes from the hospital, the missionary college, and the local middle school. As stated before, as soon as cases of cholera were discovered in the local hospital, the college authorities

¹[against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]